1:Redfield E-5 (1926-1927)1930
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764 [788] [533] double strokes until the funeral. Some families maintain an older custom, when an adult dies, of singing traditional funeral chants [*alabados*] during the night of vigil before interment.

765 [775] A week after the death of adult or child, food is set out for the soul to come and get before it then sets out for the land of the dead. The eating of this food the following day may be a ceremonial occasion, with friends asked in to share the eating and drinking.

2:Lewis E-5 (1943-1948)1951 NU37 Tepoztlan NU37

pression that most church weddings in Tepoztlán are of the second type, that is, *con ceremonia*. Judging from the marriage statistics, there is an average of about twenty-five church weddings a year. Assuming that twelve are of the elaborate type and thirteen of the simple type, we get an income of 426 pesos a year.

Another source of income is from the ceremonies at death and burial. The simple benediction for a dead child costs five pesos; benediction with *vigilias* costs thirty pesos; for going to the home of the deceased and praying, and then saying a Mass in the church and later at the cemetery, the cost is forty pesos.

The number of deaths in the municipio over a six-year period was 101, one-fourth of which was infant mortality. From this data we can calculate the church income. There is considerable variation in the costs of funerals. Often the rich will take only the simplest ceremony, while the poor will go into debt for an elaborate funeral. We can assume that about 60 per cent of the adult deaths yielded an income of at least 30 pesos to the church and the rest yielded about 40 pesos. We therefore get the following:

25 Benedictions for infants at 5 pesos each	125
46 Benedictions and Masses for adults at 30 pesos each	1,380
30 Benedictions and Masses for adults at 40 pesos each	1,200
Total	2,705

GENERAL MASSES

Here we can consider the Mass said in memory of the dead once a year; those paid by the religious associations in the village; and Masses said on Sundays and fiesta days.

It is customary to have a Mass said on the anniversary of the death of a close relative for at least two years, and some continue for much longer. Thus, given 101 deaths a year we can assume that at least eighty per cent will have Masses said the first year, sixty per cent the second year, and thirty per cent the third year. This would mean 180 Masses a year. These Masses have three prices: simple Mass for 2 pesos, a sung Mass for 11 pesos, and a Mass with a sermon for 40 pesos. The priest encourages the people to have Mass said for their dead and points out that the more elaborate the ceremony, the better the dead will fare in purgatory. Even the poor try to have the most elaborate Mass. Still, we will assume that at least 50 per cent of the Masses for the dead are simple, about 25 per cent are sung, and 25 per cent include a sermon. This yields the following income:

90 Masses at 2 pesos each	180
45 Masses at 11 pesos each	495
45 Masses at 40 pesos each	1,800
Total	2,475

In addition, we must add the money collected by the priest on the Days of the Dead when he says Mass for the dead as a whole, but mentions in particular the names of those who pay a three-peso fee. Informants believe he receives about 400

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and attitude when he is at home. Traditionally, husbands keep aloof from the petty details of the household. It is evidence of respect if the husband is not molested by his family with stories, complaints, or requests. He does not customarily inquire about the children or the events of the day when he arrives at home, nor does he expect an account from his wife. Unless he is told otherwise, the husband assumes that things are going the way he desires them. Actually, the husband learns only what the wife wishes to tell him or what he observes for himself. Since wives are held accountable for everything that happens at home, they tend to withhold information which might result in disapproval or punishment.

The husband avoids intimacy with members of his family to be respected by them. He expects them to demonstrate their respect by maintaining a proper social distance. His contacts with his children are brief and reserved. The Tepoztecan husband expects his wife to see that the children are quiet when he is at home, and it is her obligation to teach them to fear him. Men are generally not talkative at home and contribute little to family conversation, nor do they seek or expect their children to confide in them. When the husband is at home during the day, he sits apart from the rest of the family; at night he eats alone or with his grown sons and goes out or retires soon after. The loftiness of the husband's position in the home makes him remote from the family. He loses touch with the individual members and situations which he is endeavoring to control, and, inadvertently, he gives his wife and children the freedom he does not wish them to have.

In many homes, the husband's sense of security depends upon the extent to which his wife and children fear him. Some men are more violent than others and beat their wives at slight provocation. Suspicion of adultery is one of the major causes of beatings, but a wife may receive a beating for lesser offenses, such as not having a good meal ready, failure to have clean and well-ironed clothes for her husband, or selling too much corn without permission. A jealous wife, or one who questions her husband's activities or judgment, may also receive a beating. Wives are supposed to take their beatings without fighting back. Women may report their husbands to the local authorities for wife-beating, which is a recognized offense. But relatively few cases are reported, for going to such lengths may mean the separation of the couple. In many families, particularly among older couples, the role of the husband gradually comes to be little more than that of provider and punisher.

It is interesting to note that in written themes, in which school children were asked to tell what they liked best about each member of the family, they invariably wrote that they liked their father because he supported them. The comments of widows concerning the death of their husbands are all phrased in terms of economic loss. One widow, when asked how she felt at the death of her husband, said, with much feeling, that at the time she had wished that it had been her young son rather than her husband because in that case she would at least have been sure of her food. Although sentiment and grief over personal loss at the death of a husband undoubtedly is present in many cases, it is not required of wives to express this grief and it is considered perfectly natural for them to emphasize the economic loss.

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sions, "when I am dead," or "when I am underground," in conversation. There is no attempt to protect children from the facts of death. Children of all ages attend wakes, view the corpses, participate in funeral processions and at burials. Little emotion is expressed about death or the dead, although close relatives of the recent dead may shed brief tears if the subject is discussed. Grief is restrained but varies somewhat according to the age and status of the deceased.

The death of an old person or an infant causes relatively little disturbance, that of a parent or adult who is still in full vigor, or of a grown son or daughter, much more so. Reactions to the death of a husband or wife depend upon the quality of the marital relationship but, again, is rarely demonstrative. Suicide is uncommon, and in no case has anyone ever killed himself because of the death of a loved one.

At death, Tepoztecans are concerned with the release of the soul from the body and with its journey to heaven. It is said that under certain circumstances it is difficult for a person to give himself up to death, and the agony of dying is prolonged. Witches and some *curanderos* are said to die "very badly," that is, slowly, losing consciousness and fainting without being able to give up their soul, because they need time to repent all the evil things they have done. Prostitutes also suffer a difficult death, "because they supported themselves with their own bodies. These women see terrible visions and figures which threaten to drag them off, and in their agony they scratch at the bedclothes and at their own faces and hands." Often children "cannot die until they receive a benediction from their parents or godparents." Also a father or mother "cannot die if their children cry too much." In such cases the children are taken away, to hasten death. When death comes, the soul leaves the body and may be seen as a figure, resembling the deceased, leaving the house, and Tepoztecans say, ". . . this is his soul which walks without touching the ground and without showing its face although it wears no hat. It is very white, like foam, and disappears when it touches something."

It is believed that when a person is about to die "his eyes go up and become whitish, his nose sharpens, his hands get cold and still, and his body becomes loose." At these signs, the dying person is taken from the bed and placed on a *petate* on the floor in a corner. He is covered with a sheet, his clothing is removed, and he is dressed in clean clothes. After death he is placed on a table and covered with a sheet, so that "those of little spirit" will not be made ill at the sight of the corpse. A newspaper is spread on the *petate*, and a cross of sand and lime is fashioned on the newspaper.[3] Flowers are placed above the cross, and a candle, which burns day and night for nine days, is placed at the head of the *petate*. If the deceased is a man, his sombrero and huaraches are laid next to the candle; if a woman, her *rebozo* is placed there. The clothing of the dead person is washed and ironed and placed at the head of the *petate*. A *rezandero* is hired by the bereaved family to come to the house to pray twice a day, at noon and in the evening, for nine days. The women of the house are required to be present and to kneel in prayer.

[3] A similar custom is reported for Mitla. See Parsons, *Mitla*, p. 141.